### CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

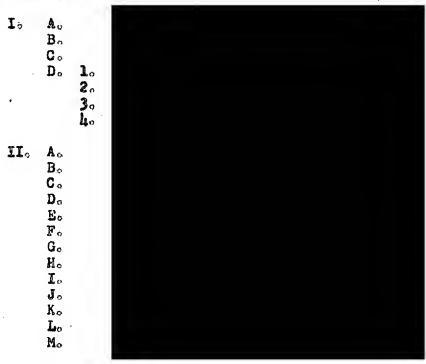
18 February 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ESTIMATES STAFF

Subject: Task Team Membership and Assignments for SE-22 25X1A9a

chairman)

2. Assignments: 25X1A9a



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Acting Chief, Estimates Statt

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CENTRAL AGENCY

BOARD OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

18 February 1952

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McMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Allan Evans, OTR Colonal B. B. Talley, G-2 Captain Ray Malpass, ONI Colonel Edward H. Porter, AFOIN Colonel So Mo Lansing, JIG

SUBJECT

: SE-22: Consequences of Certain Possible US Courses of Action with Respect to Indochina, Burma, or Thailand

1. The attached terms of reference for subject estimate have been approved by the Board of National Estimates and are forwarded for your consideration. A meeting of the IAC representatives has been scheduled for 10:00 A.M., Tuesday, 19 February, in accordance with the production schedule suggested in our memorandum of 15 Februaryo

- 2. The attached terms of reference have been coordinated with the NSC Senior Staff Steering Committee. It is therefore believed that the major questions will remain as stated, and that the meeting on Tuesday will not affect these. Accordingly, and inasmuch as it is proposed to set a Thursday afternoon deadline, 21 February, for contributions, it is suggested that your offices begin work at once on contributions.
- 3. From a functional standpoint, OIR would be expected to contribute to all the items in the terms of reference, while the Defense agencies would have specific responsibility for only II-C and II-D. The Defense agencies may, however, contribute on other sections if they desire. It would be of some assistance to this office if the representatives of the Defense agencies could indicate at the Tuesday meeting the items on which they expect to contribute. The Defense agencies may also wish to consider the desirebility of designating one service agency as the coordinator of Defense contributions 25X1A9a

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acting executive Secretary

DOCUMENT NO. NO CHANGE IN CLASS. ☐ DECLASSIFIED **ዕዕଟ୍ର ଫେଡ଼୫୭୦ ଡ଼େଖ୍ୟା**ମ୍ହର To: Ts s(ି ਹੈ)

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### SECURITY INFORMATION

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

18 February 1952

SUBJECT: TERLS OF REFERENCE: SE\_22: CONSEQUENCES OF CERTAIN POSSIBLE US COURSES OF ACTION WITH RESPECT TO INDOCHINA, BURLIA, OR THAILAND.

#### THE PROBLEM

To estimate the consequences of certain possible US courses of action with respect to an identifiable Chinese Communist military intervention\* in Indochina, Burma, or Thailando

#### SCOPE

The questions presented below, which further define the problem, fall into two categories: (1) these related to a possible

<sup>\*</sup> The term "identifiable Chinese Communist military intervention" is intended to cover either an open and acknowledged military intervention or an unacknowledged military intervention of such a scale and nature that its existence could be demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubto

US course of action in present circumstances, prior to any identifiable Chinese Communist military intervention in Burma, Indochina or Thailand, for the purpose of deterring such aggression; (2) those related to the situation after such a Chinese Communist military intervention had occurred. The response should be in broad terms and should deal with basic reactions, without wargaming the operations envisaged.

### QUESTIONS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

## I. PRIOR TO ANY IDENTIFIABLE CHINESE COLLUNIST MILITARY INTERVENTION IN INDOCHINA, BURMA, OR THATLAND:

- As What is the likelihood that the United Kingdom, France,
  Australia, and New Zealand would agree in advance to
  join with the United States in taking military counteraction against Communist China in the event of an
  identifiable Chinese Communist military intervention
  in Indochina, Burma, or Thailand?
  - 1. Assuming that this military counteraction were limited to repelling the aggression in the area where it occurred?

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- 2. Assuming that the counteraction were to include attacks on targets in Communist China directly related to Chinese Communist operations in Indochina, Burma, or Thailand?
- 3. Assuming that the counteraction were to include retaliatory operations with conventional weapons against Communist China in general?
- 4. Assuming that the military counteraction envisaged were to include the use of atomic weapons?
- B. How would a joint warning of the military action envisaged in T-A affect Chinese Communist intentions? -- Soviet intentions? -- Sino-Soviet relations?
  - 1. If the scope of the intended counteraction were not specified?
  - 2. If it were made clear that the intended counteraction would include retaliatory operations against Communist China itself?
  - 3. If the use of atomic weapons were threatened?

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- 4. If the warning were made publicly, or if it were given secretly through diplomatic channels?
- Co Would the participation of Asiatic governments

  (particularly Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, or

  India) in the joint warning be of any value? What
  is the likelihood that any such government would

  participate? What would be the effect of the participation
  of Nationalist China?
- D. What would be the effect of such a joint warning by the five powers:
  - 1. On the peoples and governments of Indochina, Burma, and Thailand?
  - 2. On other peoples and governments of East and South Asia?
  - 3. On non-participating NATO countries?
  - 4. Elsewhere (if any important effect is foreseen)?

# II. IN THE ACTUAL EVENT OF IDENTIFIABLE CHINESE COMMUNIST MILITARY INTERVENTION IN INDOCHTMA, BURNA, OR HATLAND:

A. Could the United Nations be led to declare Communist China the aggressor and to sanction:

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- 1. Military counteraction to repel the aggression?
- 2. Retaliatory military action against Communist China in general?
- Bo What additional moral and material support could the five powers expect to receive as a result of such UN sanction? What additional moral and material support might they receive even if the United Nations failed to take prompt and effective action?
- C. What would be the Chinese Communist reaction to the actual execution of retaliatory joint military counteraction against Communist China? -- the Soviet reaction? -- the effect on Sino-Soviet relations?
- D. What would be the psychological and political effect within Communist China of the actual execution of retaliatory joint military counteraction against Communist China itself:
  - 1. If such counteraction were limited to naval blockade and the conventional bombing of selective targets?



- 2. If such counteraction included a general air offensive including the use of atomic weapons?
- E. How would the peoples and governments of Indochina, Burma, and Thailand react to the actual execution of joint military counteraction against the Chinese Communist military intervention:
  - 1. If such counteraction were limited to efforts to repel the aggression in Indochina, Burma, or Thailand?
  - 2. If such counteraction included naval blockade and the conventional bombing of selective targets in Communist China?
  - 3. If such counteraction included a general air offensive against Communist China including the use of atomic weapons?
- F. How would other peoples and governments in East and South Asia react to the actual execution of joint military counteraction against Communist China in each of the three cases indicated above?
- G. Would there be any important reactions elsewhere?

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- Ho How would the powers engaged in this joint military action then regard the active employment of Chinese Nationalist forces against the Chinese Communists?
- I. What would be the reaction of the mainland Chinese to the employment of Chinese Nationalist forces against the Chinese Communists?
- J. How would other peoples and governments of East and South Asia ten regard the employment of Chinese Nationalist forces against the Chinese Communists?
- Ko If there had been no prior agreement such as that contemplated in I-A and if the United Nations failed to take prompt and effective action, would the United Kingdom and France be likely to join with the United States in retaliatory military action against Communist China itself? Would any other powers be likely to support the United States, United Kingdom, and France in these circumstances?
- Lo What would be the consequences of unilateral US military action against China proper, all other powers having refused to participate?

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Mo What would be the consequences, in the circumstances envisaged, if no effective military counteraction were taken against China proper?